

12-Point Understanding, 94, 102

## Index

Ben Ali, Zine el-Abidine, 110, 232 Bhattarai, Baburam, 88, 98 Abu Zeid, Aisha, 117 Bhattarai, Krishna Prasad, 69 Acharya, Tanka Prasad, 59 Bhusal, Pampha, 88 Ackerman, Peter, 226 Bhutto, Zulfiqar Ali, 66 Afghanistan, 17 Biko, Steve, 195 African Mine Workers' Union, 192 Biratnagar, 58 African National Congress (ANC) Birendra of Nepal, 75, 77, 93 armed strategy, 194, 199 Black Consciousness Movement, 195 Defiance Campaign, 193 boomerang effect, 46 elections, 199 Botha, P.W., 199 in exile, 195, 196 Britain factional violence, 194, 198 in India, 201, 205, 215 negotiations, 198 repression, 206, 211 origins, 191 Royal Air Force, 212 Program of Action, 192 in South Africa, 191 racial ideology, 194 in Syria, 138, 142 strategic deliberations, 39 World War II and, 211, 213 violence, 3, 9, 196 Burma "8888" movement, 16 al-'Ali, Salih, 138, 140 anti-Apartheid campaign, 3, 190-201 Carbillet, Gabriel, 142 anti-Pass Drive, 194 caste April 6th youth movement, 112 in India, 202, 204, 214 Arab Spring, 18, 106, 130, 231 in Nepal, 55, 84, 93 al-Assad, Bashar, 109, 114, 232 challenger organizations assassinations, 12, 44 decision-making, 5-6, 11, 21, 25, 48, assurance game, 32 53, 236 al-Atasi, Hashim, 153 Chatterji, Bhola, 60 al-Atrash, Muntah, 123 Chenoweth, Erica, 7, 16, 18 al-Atrash, Pasha, 123, 141, 142, 144, China, 36, 64, 77, 101 145, 157 Civil Disobedience Campaign, 206-211 al-Atrash, Salim, 141 civil resistance advocacy and, 226, 227, 229 alternatives to, 12, 13, 41, 45-47 foreign intervention, 47, 225, 229 colonial independence, 23, 135, 144, repression, 33, 40, 58, 232 158 - 160Bahrain, 230 conflict transformation and, 224 definition, 7, 8, 10 al-Bakri, Nasib, 151, 159

Batatu, Hanna, 145, 146, 156, 157

257



258 Index

diffusion, 18, 110, 131, 132, 168 Congress of South African Trade Unions in Egypt, 106, 110 (COSATU), 197-198, 200 Council of Unions of South Africa ethnicity and, 24, 26, 163, 175-187, (CUSA), 197 189, 220, 228 coups, 12, 44, 107 foreign intervention in, 128, 132 global trends, 7-8, 164, 234 goals, 10, 226 Dahal, Pushpa Kamal, 3, 87, 95, 97, 98 international support, 38, 73, 201, 231 Dalits, 84, 202, 204 methods of concentration, 127 Dara'a, 109, 117 methods of dispersion, 127, 200 de Klerk, F.W., 199 in Nepal, 3, 54-55, 69, 72, 78, 81, 82, defections, 28 92, 95 in India, 202, 210, 212, 215 nonviolent discipline, 5, 34 in Libya, 114 origins, 4, 21, 38, 218 in Nepal, 72 outcomes, 4, 218, 221, 234 social ties and, 11, 24, 36, 125 in Syria, 110, 124-127, 133 race and, 190 democratization, 226, 234 regime type and, 16, 26, 171, 173, 187 in South Africa, 190, 193 demonstrations, see protests Deuba, Sher Bahadur, 88 state capacity and, 174 Dipendra of Nepal, 93, 101 strategic logic, 6, 11, 28, 30, 35, 37, divide and rule, 26, 139-140, 143, 145 structural constraints, 221 in Syria, 26, 106, 107, 119, 129, 138, East Timorese campaign for 219, 220 independence, 46, 228 theories of, 4-5, 13-14, 232 Egypt transnational dynamics, 17, 24, 76, 2013 protests, 227 131, 225 Arab Spring, 25, 110-113, 230 violence within, 3, 8, 9, 12, 17, 29, military, 130 109, 127 Wafd protests, 150 civil society, 111, 172, 231 Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) dataset, clientelism, 89, 93, 104, 136 175, 179, 182 co-optation, 50, 51, 63 ethnicity coalitions, 12, 21, 24, 45-49, 228 civil resistance and, 24, 26, 163, 182, in Nepal, 68, 71, 72, 75, 79, 81, 93, 184, 220, 224, 228 98, 104 definition, 163 in South Africa, 193 ethnic claims, 180 cohesion, 17, 24, 43, 45, see also exclusion, 175 fractionalization, 175 fragmentation grievances, 174, 178 internal ties and, 37 group size, 183, 184 in Nepal, 74, 97 in India, 201, 204, 214 collective action, see mobilization insurgency and, 163, 176, 185, 224 Color revolutions, 13, 132 Communist Party of Nepal (CPN), 84 mobilization and, 178 in Nepal, 55, 82, 84, 90, 93 Maoist, see Maoists (Nepal) political exclusion, 181, 182, 184 Marxist-Leninist, see social ties and, 163, 220 Marxist-Leninists (Nepal) Masal, 97 Mashal, 97 Federation of South African Trade

Congress Alliance, 193

Unions (FOSATU), 197



Index 259

fragmentation, 10, 17, 28, see also National Bloc, 136, 155, 160 cohesion Nepali Congress, 57, 63, 76, 78, 79 coalitions, 45 nonviolent discipline, 34 grassroots ties and, 34 Patriotic Club, 136, 144 marginalized majorities, 43, 109 in South Africa, 190, 199 in Nepal, 74, 88, 97 Syrian Resistance, 109, 133 in South Africa, 190, 200 vulnerabilities, 34 grievance theories, 15, 51, 103, 163, 174, in Syria, 26, 136 frame alignment, 32 224 France Gyanendra of Nepal, 93, 101, 103 divide and rule, 145 domestic politics, 153, 156, 158, 160 Hananu, Ibrahim, 138, 140, 147, 150 Franco-Syrian Treaty of 1936, 153 Homs Quarters Union, 124 mercenaries, 156 bin-Hussein, Faisal, 138 in Morocco, 144 hybrid strategy, 9, 12, 43 repression, 143, 151 in South Africa, 190, 196 Sykes-Picot Agreement, 138 in Syria, 109, 128, 133, 220 fraternization tactics, 112, 126, 133, 210 Free Syrian Army, 110, 127 ideology, 21, 22, 24, 49 Freedom Charter, 193 in the Arab Spring, 131 Maoists (Nepal), 87, 92, 95, 103 Gandhi, Mohandas K. Marxist-Leninists (Nepal), 69, 74 arrests, 206, 209, 212 Nepali Congress, 73, 78 campaign goals, 207, 214, 216 in South Africa, 194 constructive program, 202, 204, 206 impact on Nepal, 22, 54, 57, 78, 219 case-study design, 21, 24, 27 March to the Sea, 208 civil service, 202, 209, 213, 215 non-cooperation movement, 205 economic conditions, 209 nonviolent discipline, 206 ethnicity, 201 organization-building, 204, 207, 214 Maoists (Nepal) and, 2, 101-102, 231 philosophy, 202-203 Naxalites, 69 reforms of Congress, 206, 214 Nepali Congress and, 1, 57, 61, 63-65, salt tax, 208 76 - 225in South Africa, 190, 191, 199 police, 202, 210, 212, 215 strategic thinking, 202, 203 Indian Independence Act of 1947, 213 General Strike of 1936, 150-151, 158, Indian National Congress, 202 160 arrests, 212 Goodwin, Jeff, 15, 164 impact on Nepal, 57 Government of India Act of 1935, 211 loyal opposition, 205 Granovetter, Mark, 18 Nehru Report, 207 grassroots ties, 28 organizational core, 214 Nepali Congress, 57 organizational reforms, 17, 206, 214 colonial independence and, 161 origins, 204 definition, 11, 31 relations with Muslims, 207, 209 ethnicity and, 188 strategic thought, 203 Indian National Congress, 214, 215 Indian Passive Resistance Campaign in internationalization, 47, 229 South Africa, 192 Maoists (Nepal), 98, 103, 104 Informal Sector Service Center (INSEC), Marxist-Leninists (Nepal), 76, 79 mobilization, 32, 52 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), 198



260 Index

insider cliques, 12, 44 Jhapa Revolt, 69, 74, 96 insular challengers, 11, 41-42, 52 in India, 204, 214 Kachin Independence Army, 16 internationalization, 46-47 Karen National Liberation Army, 16 lessons for, 228, 229 Khalifat Movement, 205, 214 in Libya, 106, 219 Khoury, Philip S., 30, 147, 148, 151, 154 in Nepal, 25, 55, 58, 61, 78, 79, 82, Koirala, B.P., 1, 58, 59, 65, 73, 78 85, 103, 219 Koirala, G.P., 60, 68 social media and, 233 Koirala, M.P., 57, 60, 76 in Syria, 136, 138, 144 Kyrgyzstan Tulip Revolution, 9, 226 insurgency alternative to civil resistance, 47, 223 Léon Blum, 158 ethnicity and, 163, 176, 185, 224 labor unions, 15, 40, 91, 111 global trends, 166 in South Africa, 192, 195, 197, 200, insular challengers, 41 2.16 integrated challengers, 40 in Syria, 151 in Libya, 113 Lama, Nirval, 87, 98 marginalized majorities, 43 League of National Action, 136, 149, in Nepal, 2, 54-55, 61, 81, 82, 88-104 151, 152, 156, 159, 228 in Syria, 106, 107, 110, 134, 138, 143 Lebanon, 36 theories of, 11, 29, 221 Leninist strategy, 87, 92, 97 integrated challengers, 11, 40, 52 Libya, 25, 50, 113, 219 in Egypt, 106, 219 Local Coordinating Committees (LCCs), in Tunisia, 219 in Nepal, 55, 78, 82, 104 Loktantra Andolan, 82, 95, 101, 224, internal ties, 37, 52 2.2.5 coalitions, 104 loyalty trap, 109, 122, 124 colonial independence, 161 organization-building, 46 Madhesis, 93 role of the state, 50 International Center on Nonviolent Magars, 84, 86, 100, 103 Mahendra of Nepal, 62, 64 Conflict, 7 internationalization, 12, 46-47, 228 Mainali, Radha Krishna, 68 Mandela, Nelson, 192, 194, 199 in India, 213, 216 in South Africa, 201, 216 Mao Zedong, 22, 92, 97, 102 Iron Hand Society, 140 Maoists (Nepal) 40-Point Demand, 88 beef feasts, 90 Jabal Hawran, 140, 142, 144 case selection, 21 Jallad, Hani, 151, 159 child soldiers, 91 Iamaat-e-Islami, 30 civil resistance, 25, 82, 95, 101, 103, jamahiriya system, 50, 113 Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, 30 224 coalition, 93, 98 Jana Andolan, 25, 55, 68, 72-73 community leaders, 86, 99 aftermath, 81, 82, 100 coalition, 104 cultural programs, 89 international involvement, 78, 225 elections, 85, 95, 96 Maoist participation, 96 ethnicity, 84, 90, 93 repression, 75, 101 fragmentation, 97 Jana Andolan II (2006), see Loktantra governance, 89 Andolan ideology, 92, 96



Index 261

insurgency, 2, 16, 25, 82, 88–92,	social media and, 233
103–219	social ties and, 11, 19, 29, 32, 33, 35,
international support, 101-102	52
interviews, 236	in South Africa, 190, 192, 193, 196,
mobilization, 85, 91	197, 199, 216
organizational core, 82, 84	in Syria, 115, 117-120, 140, 155, 220
origins, 84	modernization theory, 14
repression, 86, 99, 101	Movement Against Regression, 94
social ties, 81–82, 85, 92–94, 98,	Mubarak, Hosni, 111, 112, 130, 232
103–104, 219	Muslim Brotherhood, 111
strategic deliberations, 3, 81, 86, 88,	•
100, 103, 237	National Bloc
violence, 85, 95, 99, 104	civil resistance, 138
March to the Sea, 208	elections, 147
Mardam, Jamil, 151, 153, 159	General Strike of 1936, 150–153, 220
marginalized majorities, 12, 42–43, 52,	honorable cooperation, 148, 155
224	organizational core, 30, 138, 153
economic tactics, 216	origins, 147
in India, 189	social ties, 26, 136, 138, 153, 154
internationalization, 46, 47	National Defense Force, 123
repression, 52	National Resistance Army (Uganda), 17
in South Africa, 189, 190, 199	Nehru, Jawaharlal, 64, 76, 203, 225
in Syria, 26, 106, 133–134, 138, 160,	Nepal
219, 230	
Martel, Comte Damien de, 148, 152	1950 insurgency, 2, 55, 78 1979 student protests, 66, 79
Marxist–Leninists (Nepal)	1980 referendum, 67, 71
case selection, 21	
civil resistance, 25, 54–55, 72	1985 protests, 67, 79
coalition, 68, 71, 72, 93, 104	background, 55
elections, 71	case-study design, 21–22, 25, 236
ideology, 74	constitutional monarchy, 81, 100
	democratic transition, 80
Movement Against Regression, 94	elections, 62, 71, 85, 95
organizational core 55	ethnicity, 55, 82
organizational core, 55	geopolitics, 6, 64
origins, 69	Jhapa Revolt, 69
social ties, 55, 71, 78, 81, 94, 219	Maoist insurgency, 2, 81, 82
Mater, Ghuyath, 119	panchayat system, 71, 75
mobilization, 5, 28, 35, 38	Rana regime, 1, 57, 61, 84
in Egypt, 111	royal coups, 63, 78, 93
ethnicity and, 178	royal massacre, 93
in India, 202, 205, 206, 208, 216	Royal Nepal Army, 95, 98, 102
insider cliques, 44	security forces, 75
insular challengers, 41	social grievances, 82
integrated challengers, 11, 40	Nepal Democratic Congress, 61, 69, 74
Libya, 130	Nepal Democratic Front, 68
Maoists (Nepal), 85, 91, 93, 103, 237	Nepal Vidyarthi Sangh, 65
marginalized majorities, 12, 42, 109	Nepali Congress
Marxist-Leninists (Nepal), 94	1961 guerrilla raids, 65
Nepali Congress, 54, 58–59, 62, 65,	1985 protests, 67, 78
66, 79, 94	case selection, 21



262 Index

civil resistance, 25, 55, 72 Patriotic Club, 138 coalition, 68, 72, 93, 95, 104 spontaneous protests and, 233 conflict with Maoists, 99 Syrian Resistance, 106 elections, 62, 67, 95 organizational theories, 16 ideology, 57, 73 in Nepal, 74, 97 insurgency, 2, 25, 54, 55, 61, 96, 219 in Syria, 158 Jute Mill strike, 58 mobilization, 58-59, 65, 66 Pan-Africanist Congress, 194 Movement Against Regression, 94 Panchayat system, 82 organization-building, 65, 79, 219, Patriotic Club, 136, 142, 157 insurgency, 138 organizational core, 55, 57, 61, 63, 65, organizational core, 138 66 social ties, 138 origins, 1, 57 Pearlman, Wendy, 17, 43, 109, 200 repression, 58, 64 Philippine People Power Movement, 9, social ties, 54-55, 57, 59, 62, 63, 67, 225 75, 78, 79, 81, 94, 219 political opportunity theory, 4, 15, 50, strategic deliberations, 60, 63, 74, 78 164, 173, 224 ties to India, 76, 225 Prachanda, see Dahal, Pushpa Kamal Nepstad, Sharon, 18, 124, 229 Prachandapath, 92, 97 Non-Cooperation Movement, 205 professional organizations, 65, 94 nonviolence, philosophy of, 7, 226 protests, 38, 40, 52, see also civil Nonviolent and Violent Campaign resistance Outcomes (NAVCO) dataset, 7, in Egypt, 111 in India, 207, 212 26, 162, 179 nonviolent discipline, 12, 17, 206, 215, in Libya, 114 in Nepal, 67, 78, 85-86, 91 nonviolent resistance, see civil resistance Nepal, 92, 103 spontaneous, 232 in Syria, 109, 117, 119 Oli, K.P. Sharma, 69, 72 Operation Romeo, 99 organization-building, 12, 46-49, 228 Qaddafi, Muammar, 50, 113, 115, 130, 232 external support for, 231 in India, 204, 214, 216 al-Qawuqji, Fawzi, 143 Quit India movement, 212 Maoists (Nepal), 87-90 Marxist-Leninists (Nepal), 69 impact on Nepal, 54, 57, 73, 219 Nepali Congress, 65, 79, 219 al-Quwwatli, Shukri, 159 social media and, 234 South Africa, 196, 216 Rana, Surendra, 237 organizational cores regime change, 5, 10, 40, 46 definition, 30 regime ties, 11, 28, 40 Egyptian Resistance, 106 colonial independence, 135, 161 identifying, 22, 23, 236 defections and, 36, 125 Indian National Congress, 206 definition, 35 internal ties and, 37, 50 ethnicity and, 188 Libyan Resistance, 106 in India, 209, 214, 215 Maoists (Nepal), 82, 85 Maoists (Nepal), 93, 98, 102, 104 Marxist-Leninists (Nepal), 55 Marxist-Leninists (Nepal), 76 National Bloc, 138 National Bloc, 155 Nepali Congress, 55, 57 Nepali Congress, 57, 63, 76, 104



Index 263

Patriotic Club, 144 Revolutionary International Movement repression and, 36, 52 (RIM), 101 Rolpa, 2, 84-86, 99, 100, 236 role of the state, 50 Romania, 3, 164 in South Africa, 190, 199 Roundtable Conference, 211 Syrian Resistance, 26, 109, 133 Rukum, 84, 86, 99, 100, 236 regime type, 51, 164 autocracies, 164, 166 Said, Jawdat, 119 civil resistance and, 171, 173 democracies, 164 satyagraha, 6, 219 non-democracies, 166, 173 Gandhi's philosophy of, 202, 203 in Nepal, 59, 63, 79 regime-type in South Africa, 190, 191 non-democracies, 26, 222 Schelling, Thomas, 4 Regional Command Councils, 127 security forces Regmi, Dilli Raman, 59 in Egypt, 112, 130 relational theories, 18 in India, 209, 212, 215 religion in Libya, 130 in Egypt, 132 mercenaries, 231 in India, 202, 204, 205, 207, 209, 214 in Nepal, 75, 81, 94, 95, 98-100, 102 in Nepal, 90 quantitative measures, 167 social ties and, 163 recruitment policies, 223, 231 in syria, 109, 116, 118, 120, 139, 155 social ties and, 11, 33, 35-37, 40, 42, repression 50 dissent and, 35 in Syria (Assad regime), 107, 109, 115, in Egypt, 112 121, 123, 124, 127, 131, 220 ethnicity and, 178 in Syria (French mandate), 136, 144, fragmentation and, 37, 50 146, 150, 156, 160 in India, 206, 209, 212 training, 232 insular challengers, 41 self-determination, 17, 186, 228 integrated challengers, 11, 40 Serrail, Maurice, 142, 144 international constraints on, 46, 77 Seven Party Alliance, 98 Jana Andolan, 72, 75, 101 Sharp, Gene, 222, 226 Maoists (Nepal), 86, 99, 101, 237 Sharpeville massacre, 194 marginalized majorities, 12, 43, 109 Simon Commission, 207 Nepali Congress, 58, 63, 64, 67 Singh, Ganesh Man, 68, 77 political opportunities and, 51 Singh, Mohan Bikram, 84 quantitative measures of, 172 Singh, Prem Lal, 68 social ties and, 5, 11, 28, 33-36, 52 Sino-Indian War, 77 in South Africa, 190, 192-195, 198, Sisulu, Walter, 192 199 social media, 20, 233 state-centric theories and, 24, 164 in Syria, 118, 121, 127 in Syria (Arab Spring), 116, 118, 124, social movement theory, 8, 29-30 126, 132, 220 social networks, see social ties in Syria (French mandate), 136, 151, social ties 152, 157, 160 appropriation of, 29 Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), 101 bridging, 30, 31, 41, 42, 163 research design challenger decision-making, 38-40 qualitative, 21, 23, 222, 236 change over time, 25, 46, 49–51, 227 quantitative, 24, 167, 222 defections and, 11, 24, 125 revolutionary bandwagon, 32 definition, 28, 30, 233



264 Index

economic crisis, 197 international pressure, 228 laborational pressure, 228 Thailand, 227 Thailand, 227	
Jahor unione 197 197	
labor unions, 192, 197 racial discrimination, 190, 191 Tianenmen Square protests, 36 Tibet, 64	
Soweto Uprising, 195 Stay-Away Campaign, 197 Tilly, Charles, 15, 164	
Staniand Paul 19 30 49 154 transnational ties, 37, 47, 225	
state capacity 51 103 130 164 166 Iribnuvan of Nepal, 61, 76	
167, 174, 223 Frotsky, Leon, 164	
state-centric theories, 4, 14–16, 50, 220, Tufekci, Zeynep, 233	
222 Tuladar, Padma Ratna, 71 in the Arah Spring, 130 Tunisia, 107, 110, 219, 230	
ii the Mao Spring, 130	
in Nepal, 75, 101	
quantitative tests, 162–173, 187 Uganda, 17 Stephan, Maria J., 7, 18 Ukraine, 36	
strikes, 7, 38, 40, 52 uMkhonto we Sizwe, 3, 9, 195, 198,	199
in Egypt, 111 United Democratic Front (UDF),	
in India, 216 196–198, 200	
in Nepal, 78, 85, 91, 92, 95, 103 United Nations, 6	
in South Africa, 192, 197, 200, 216 United People's Front, 96	
in Syria, 129, 150 United States, 2, 6, 73, 77, 92, 102,	



Index 265

Violations Documentation Center (VDC), World War II, 202, 213

Wavell, Archibald, 213 West Papuan self-determination movement, 39

Yemen, 125 Yugoslavia, 3